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BENJAMIN HANFORD, Vice President of the Social Democratic Party.

LABOR DAY

The Means to Freedom.

L. BERGER'S THOUGHTS ON LABOR DAY.

The first and greatest demand of man's nature is to be free. The second is the opportunity to better his condition. Freedom and opportunity make the pursuit of happiness possible. And happiness is after all the aim and object of all men.

Now, to begin with, are we free? For one to be master of the condition of his own life, or at least to enjoy an equal right for an equal share of the products of the earth.

Does it mean to be free? For one to be master of the condition of his own life, or at least to enjoy an equal right for an equal share of the products of the earth.

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Judge a man by his works, not by his professions. This is an awful good rule to apply when a capitalist candidate is telling how much he loves labor!

Pittsburg Phil, according to photographs printed in the daily press, is followed by a crowd of men who wave their hats when he goes along the streets of Saratoga on his way to the betting ring. The capitalist press plays upon and develops the perverted ideals of the people because it serves the interests of capitalism. Deny it if you dare!

Under the capitalist system capital can demand its increase and thus the worker can never expect to get his full, socially due share of what he produces—a capitalist class must get its living out of the labor of the working class. By the abolition of capitalism the capitalist class itself will disappear, thus ceasing to appropriate the fruits of the toil of others and hence enabling those others to lay full claim to the product of their industry.

A vile and slanderous book against Socialism, entitled "A Nation of Fatherless Children" which has been taken up by certain anti-Socialist priests has also caught the eye, it appears, of Pres. Samuel Gompers, who is trying to protect his job by despairing and vain efforts to keep Socialism out of the American Federation of Labor, and he has written an autograph endorsement of the book. So here we have a man whose hair is leaving in patches simulating fear for the morals of the people when Socialism abolishes the capitalist system and its prostitutions!

and to tell them to demand "protection," or "free trade," or the promise to "smash the trusts," or to "resolve" to demand the "referendum" of the law-makers.

In short, capitalism controls all natural resources; the money, the commerce, the transportation lines, the congress, courts, legislatures, and executives; it controls the press, the churches, the police, the militia and the political leaders. There is no hope unless the laboring people—the producers of the country—organize in one great body which will fight capitalism everywhere, in politics, in the press, in the pulpit, in the economic field, and with bullets if the time and the necessity arrives.

I concede that this preaching is "lawless." But what of it? Lawlessness of the right kind is a lever that has moved the world forward. It was by an unlawful conspiracy that the Magna Charta was obtained; the Reformation was a rebellion against God and the Holy Church; regicide, then the "blackest of crimes," barred out of the English constitution the doctrine of "divine right"; grand larceny in Boston led up to the Declaration of Independence; the blood of kings, bishops and nobles washed away feudalism in France; and John Brown's lawless raid freed the negro slave. And last but not least: Are the capitalists in Colorado and everywhere else not also "lawless" whenever it suits their purpose? We should be grateful if the social revolution of the freeing of seventy-five million whites would not cost more blood than the freeing of four million negroes in 1861. And the better we are organized, the more political power and social strength we obtain, the less bloody the revolution will be.

Therefore workmen of America, organize in your unions. Join the Social-Democratic party. Think of the tremendous duty before you. Think of your children and their future. These are the only befitting thoughts for a Labor Day.

A. D. 1904.

A FORTUNE BUILT ON MISERY.

"The Democratic party is prating of a return to Jeffersonian simplicity." Shades of the great Thomas J. himself! You should see the home of Henry G. Davis, the party's Vice-Presidential candidate. It is a palace fit for an emperor. It surpasses in splendor every dwelling place in West Virginia save the home of the Republican United States Senator Stephen B. Elkins, who, by the way, is a son-in-law of Mr. Davis.

"While Henry G. Davis lives in a style that is truly royal, the poor miners who delve in the bowels of the earth and bring forth the wealth that pays for all the Davis splendor, are themselves housed like cattle. No dog or horse owned by Mr. Davis would be allowed to dwell for a day in the miserable shacks where the miners of his coal camp live. The rich man's dog and horse must have the comfort and convenience of life, but the poor human slaves who produce the rich man's wealth must be satisfied with a place to crawl into and sleep. Yet millions of workingmen by their vote next November will declare that the continuance of this pitiful economic contrast is right and proper."—M. W. Wilkins, Socialist organizer, now in West Virginia.

Under Socialism young people would undoubtedly marry earlier than they do now. Under capitalism inability to support a wife deters a large proportion of young men from marrying at just the time when such a union would safeguard them from immoralities that exact their penalties and that through contamination and heredity taint society. And this state of things also calls for a large number of morally wicked women to minister to it. The capitalist system is an enemy of the home, and this is one of a myriad of reasons why it must be abolished.

Not content with showing up the colossal criminality of the Standard Oil company, Thomas W. Lawson, the Boston millionaire, is now taking a few side shots at another bunch of crooks, the men who control the Democratic party. He is calling a spade a spade, and his disclosures are far from relished. The claim is now made that Senator McCarren is thinking of replying, to which Lawson retorts:

"More than fifty days ago I made the flatfooted statement: 'If Senator McCarren is not the trusted agent of the Standard Oil I will pay the Democratic committee \$100,000.' 'If I were Senator McCarren and the Democratic national committee, who have charge of the job of making the American people believe the unknown country gentleman who acted as chairman of the executive committee of the Democratic party, which nominated Dave Hill governor after one of the slipperiest campaigns in the history of New York's many slippery campaigns and who was immediately in payment thereof promoted to the supreme court bench of Dave Hill, and who cast the deciding vote which broke the tie of the appellate court in the famous thirty odd million suit of the Farmers' Loan and Trust company after a brief visit to Lenox—'I say, I was Senator McCarren and the Democratic national committee who have charge of the job of making the American people believe that Judge Parker is innocent in all ways political, I would shut up sharp and tight on the subject of who hired McCarren and his associates to put through the job at the St. Louis convention, or they may be confronted with a political problem at who owns more important individuals, and how, which would put the question of who hires Senator McCarren so far into the background that it never would be resurrected until long after the Democratic national committee, or whoever has the authority, meet to choose a candidate for the Democratic party to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of the able and upright judge from U. S. S. and we'll soap you. I certainly would."

While Lawson does not have to tell the people that Parker is owned by a trust as they were convinced of it themselves, his claim that the Democratic presidential nominee has a past filled with "high finance" crookedness, that he was elevated to the bench to twist justice to keep on a certain big steal, and that he delivered the goods, is illuminating. And when you think that all this political rascality is not due merely to political ambitions, but is a part of the great business crookedness of the country and that beneath it all is the creaking back of Labor, the enormity of the situation begins to be apparent. It is all carried on with the voting sanction of the working class of this country and it will continue and grow worse as long as the workers support it with their ballots.

There was great applause at the International Congress when two of the vice-presidents, Katayama of Japan, and Plechanoff, of Russia, publicly shook hands.

Mr. Katayama, speaking in English, said: "I am glad to find a dele-

ISSUE, 1904.

LABOR DAY GREETING.

EUGENE V. DEBS WRITES OF THE DAY OF RELEASE

THE Working Man is the only man in whose presence I take off my hat. As I salute him, I honor myself. The Working Man—and this is the day to write him in capital letters—has given me what I have, made me what I am, and will make me what I hope to be; and I thank him for all, and above all for giving me an eye to see, a heart to feel and a voice to speak for the Working Man.

Like the rough hewn stone from which the noble statue is chiseled by the hand of man, the Toiler is the rough-hewn human from which the perfect Man is being chiseled by the hand of God.

All the working men of the earth are necessary to the whole Working Man—and he alone will survive of all the human race.

Labor Day is a good day to rest the hands and give the brain a chance—to think about what has been, and is, and is yet to be.

The way has been long and weary and full of pain, and many have fallen by the wayside, but the Unconquerable Army of Labor is still on the march and as it rests on its arms today and casts a look ahead, it beholds upon the horizon the first glowing rays of the Social Sunrise.

Courage, comrades! The struggle must be won, for Peace will only come when she comes hand in hand with Freedom.

The right is with the labor movement and the gods of battle are with the Working Class.

The Socialist Party and the Trade Union Movement must be one today in celebration of Labor Day and pledge each other their mutual fidelity and support in every battle, economic and political, until the field is won and the Working Man is free.

Forget not the past on Labor Day! Think of Homestead! Think of Latimer! Think of Buffalo! Think of Coeur d'Alene! Think of Croton Dam! Think of Chicago! Think of Virden! Think of Pana! Think of Leadville! Think of Cripple Creek! Think of Victor! Think of Telluride!

These are some of the bloody battles fought in the past in the war of the Workers for Industrial Freedom and Social Justice.

How many and how fierce and bloody shall be the battles of the future?

Comrades, this is the day for Working Men to think of the Class Struggle and the Ballot—the day for Labor to clasp the hand of Labor and girdle the globe with the International Revolutionary Solidarity of the Working Class.

We are all one—all workers of all lands and climes. We know not color, nor creed, nor sex in the Labor Movement. We know only that our hearts throb with the same proletarian stroke, that we are keeping step with our class in the march to the goal and that the solidarity of Labor will vanquish slavery and humanize the World.

TO REACH THE MAN ASLEEP!

The National Socialist Headquarters in Chicago has gotten out an effective private mailing card for use by Social-Democrats, with the following message to the person to whom the card is sent:

DEAR FRIEND:—

You and I have "whooped it up" for the politicians until our country has reached a point where we are like puppets in their hands, and where the politicians are but tools of the corporations. You know this as well as I do, and when we get right down to a heart to heart talk with close friends we do admit that there is no real difference between the Democratic and Republican parties or machines. Some time ago I began quietly reading up some on economics—don't get scared at the word, with the result that I am ready to confess myself a tool for voting as I have been doing. I was honest in my intentions, however, as I believe you are, but honesty may cover up lots of ignorance.

To make a long story short I am taking this method of informing you and other of my friends that this year I am going to vote for Debs and Hanford who are the Socialist party candidates for President and Vice-President. No, I am not crazy! As you can demonstrate for yourself if you will do some unbiased reading about the philosophy and program of Socialism. Not what others say, but what their own writers say.

For the purpose of avoiding any personal racket I'm going to leave you to guess who sent you this card, but take my advice and investigate for yourself.

gate here from Russia, with which country our own is waging one of the most disastrous wars that have ever done violence to the fraternity of nations. Japanese Socialists ever since 1893 have expected a Socialist revolution in Japan."

M. Plechanoff, in replying, said that the Russian people did not desire war, but the government, which was the enemy of the people, provoked Japan by its adventurous and despotic policy. Continual disasters were now Russia's just reward. Even if Russia should be victorious, M. Plechanoff said, the Russian people would be the victims, but Japan was removing one of the feet of the colossus of despotism.

The congress unanimously adopted the following resolution proposed by a French delegate:

"At this moment, when Tsarism is stricken by war, the Socialists greet the Russian and Japanese proletariat, sacrificed and massacred by capitalism and governments, and rely upon Socialists everywhere to oppose by all means in their power the extension or continuation of the war."

Socialism is industrial democracy. Our present development of industry is all right, only it lacks the one humane and necessary ingredient: a collective ownership of the productive forces in order that those who work shall have the full return of their labors. The man who votes against this great change, votes to keep the workers in misery and torment in order that the few may surfeit on the toil of the rest.

We don't blame Father Sherman for declaring that he was through speaking in Wisconsin. It is no wonder he quit in a panic. For his half-insane and frenzied ravings about Socialism disgusted even the people of his own religion and even turned some of them toward Socialism.

The Democratic party is an aggregation of scallawags. It is led by crooks and followed by men who are potential grafters and enemies of pure government. In Milwaukee last week the Democratic party nominated for congress a moral leper, the legal representative of the gambling houses and the houses of prostitution, Peter J. Somers, a man who was particularly wanted by the last grand jury, but who found it convenient to disappear and lie low till the storm blew over. So notorious was this fact that one of the speakers at the convention plead with the delegates from the platform, saying, "Let us not nominate a man who has to leave the city every time there is a grand jury." These words were hissed by the heels of Mayor Rose who were present to help Somers win the nomination. They were not there to listen to the truth.

The Wisconsin state Democratic convention at Oshkosh nearly elected Henry J. Killilea of Milwaukee chairman. Who is Killilea? A paid railway lobbyist and boomed by a certain Milwaukee reform daily; we are told that there was a fight in the convention between the conservatives and the radical wing. The radical wing, behold you, consists of Mayor Rose and his gang, who are in the pay of the Republican legislative corrupter, Boss Pfister! And this is the crowd that is to give us Reform! But then, the voter has swallowed to many awindles that this will go down with a goodly number of his stupid tribe.

Wisconsin Democrats, assisted by the corporation faction of the Republicans, have nominated ex-Gov. Peck for governor. Peck when governor before gave the state disgraceful administration including a dishonest roster contract job, by which money was to be stolen from the state treasury to keep a party paper alive.

OF LABOR IN AMERICA.

Traces its History on Yankee Soil.

History of labor has always been one of march and upward. Some contemporary observers have proclaimed a retreat, but a view of the new era was always seen to be a point than the present.

It should be the first fact, since he is a laborer. It would argue the realization of Socialism. The laborer of today stands far up in advance of the laborer of the past. A retreating army of material with which to construct a commonwealth.

Revolution, as such, brought immediate relief, but it gave opportunity for independent development which was to lay the foundations of freedom. The laboring class of the Revolution was composed of negro slaves, convicts, redemptioners and a few free laborers. The first two were brought here against the one from the wilds of the other from the prisons of England; the third, nominally, their own free will, in reality they are driven by the same forces that today force the laborer to seek for a master.

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fact that the beginning of the 19th century saw no state having manhood suffrage, while the Civil War found it almost universal throughout the United States. Imprisonment for debt prevailing everywhere at the beginning of this period had disappeared at the close, while the public school system, the homestead law, and the germs of most working class legislation date from this period. The struggle between wage slave and chattel slave owners culminating in the Civil War absorbed all the attention of the workers at that period, and when wage slavery became universal the whole labor movement had to be begun over again.

It began in a new industrial world, great industries had supplanted little firms and it was not long before labor was gathered together in great industrial armies. Soon this organization of industry expressed itself in labor unions. First, came the separate trade organizations, then, the Knights of Labor with its rocket-like career, and the fierce 8-hour struggle of the '80's, the first bloody grapple with a plutocratic government in 1877, the rise of the labor fakir with the capture of the labor movement by the Republicans with the cry of protection and high wages, the appearance of the A. F. of L., its growth and present strength—and weakness, the grand rallying of the railroad workers in the A. R. U. and their magnificent terrible battle of Pullman, and, finally, and most important of all, the steady growth of intelligent rebelliousness and its expression in the Socialist party. Through it all, labor has been moving onward and upward. Through the awful turmoil of Pittsburgh, Pullman, Homestead, Coeur d'Alene, Hazelton, Chicago and Colorado we trace a thin red line of growing class intelligence.

Trusted wealth teaches the lesson of the economy of compulsory co-operative labor while it proves the permanence of the wage labor caste by shutting off all hope of escape across the class line of master and man. Strikes, boycotts, blacklists and employers' associations prove the bitterness of the class struggle. While private ownership shuts the workers out from

the sources of wealth and the means of wealth production it finally teaches them to demand the abolition of that barrier and the transference of the title deeds to wealth to the collective control of all who live and help to make life possible. In the beginning the labor movement is like some great natural force, capable of infinite good or harm as chance may decide or a higher power direct. Its tremendous blind energies like those of fire or wind or water are used by others, to work their purpose, often to the destruction, always to the enslavement of the workers. They fight battles, build industries, support society, but always in blind ignorance of reason or results. But finally the spirit of class rebellion arises. At first it, too, is blind, and the struggles of the labor giant as he tosses his monstrous limbs about work only evil, or if good results it is because his strength has been used by others not because he used it. But gradually his efforts gain more intelligence. The strike and boycott and trade union supplant the mad use of club and torch and powder. New methods still come with growing intelligence. The whole great mass of workers learn to think and act as an army, not a mob. It utilizes all the teachings of modern science to stock its armory and give skill to its hands. It ransacks history and pores deep into the mysteries of present society to learn of its mission and the methods to accomplish it.

When this stage has been reached, when labor becomes CLASS CONSCIOUS, there is no resisting its advance. Its tremendous elemental strength is still with it, but to the restless power of its numberless host it has added a conscious directing power. It is as if steam had found a brain amid the watery vapors, as if the cyclone had developed a nervous system or the law of gravitation had taught itself to think. Before such an incarnation of irresistible elemental force, intelligently, consciously directed, such puny barriers as traditional, man-made legal fetters will be but as bonds of straw upon an earthquake, as chaff before the hurricane.

WHAT SOCIALISTS FIGHT FOR. Dr. Titus shows the Curse of Private Ownership.

In one word, Socialism proposes to get wealth for all. Plenty of the good things of life for everybody. A fine house to live in, fine furniture in it and fine lawns and trees about it. A table loaded with good things to eat. Abundance of clothing, comfortable and elegant. Opportunity and means to travel all over the world. Leisure to read and play and work. No poverty any more with its filth and sickness and vice. With all these things, Socialism will get the consequences of all these things, a natural human development, large, healthy, noble men and women, a happy, energetic, progressive race.

You say all this is a dream? No, no dream at all, but an immediate possibility. By means of the vast new machinery of this modern world, we can produce wealth enough for all without any trouble whatever. A modern cotton mill in place of the old hand-loom, a modern railroad in place of the old stage-coach, a modern Electric Light Company in place of the old candle-mould, a modern shoe factory in place of the old bench shoe-maker, by means of these new appliances a man can produce a hundred or a thousand times as much wealth as in the times of our fathers.

There is no doubt at all about this. Modern inventions have so increased the productive capacity of civilized mankind that all men could have abundance of wealth by working only three or four hours a day. Socialism proposes to get this abundance for all. In order to get this abundance for all, we must do something. We

Nothing Stops Progress. I stood some years ago near an avalanche in the Alps which could not be stopped by an injunction. I fled from a blizzard in South Dakota which could not be thwarted by any court. I felt the rumble of an earthquake in Sicily which could not be quelled by an editorial in all the Chicago papers. I saw the floods of the Niagara, which mock the army—aye, even the militia. Against the sweep of the comet what could Cleveland do, though he were a Pope and sent a bull after it? Let us disapprove of all these forces of nature, but what is your lack? It makes no difference whether or not you favor an earthquake. Let the court enjoin it. Let the squibblers of the shoulder-straps hold up their guns against it. It is coming! Crack! goes the earthquake, while the Hebrew slaves march out of Egypt and Pharaoh sinks in the Red Sea. Crack! it goes again and the agrarians of Rome seize their short swords. Crack! and the serfs of Germany and Hungary carry every thing before them. Crack! once more and the forces of the French revolution give death to monarchs. Louis' head falls into the basket. Crack again! And George Washington confronts George III. Crack again! And old Abe rides the earthquake, till chattel slavery falls, butchers and capitalists and congress and editors and capital and congress and poor old Buchanan. Crack again! And Garibaldi is in his red shirt. Crack! goes the earthquake now and then again and again, the wide world over. We have heard it twice in our own country within little more than a century and God help us to hear it again. The sovereignty of nabobs must be overthrown. —John Swinton.

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THE STORY OF TIM REAGAN.

AN INCIPIENT "REFORMER" OF THE USUAL SORT!

NEVER hear of a reform movement, but I think of a friend of my boyhood days, named Tim Reagan. Tim was one of those boys that your mother always warned you against having anything to do with, and you were not to be found in his company on pain of getting a good thrashing. Yet there wasn't a boy in the neighborhood but would give up his greatest treasure for the pleasure of going fishing, swimming or stealing apples with Tim Reagan. Tim could whip every boy in the town that was anywhere near his size and years. He was captain of the baseball team, and in the old days before the invention of the face mask, breast protector and padded glove, it was a sight that filled the heart of the average boy with delight to see Tim close under the bat taking all that was coming to him as catfish of the "Shamrocks." Woe betide a player of Tim's team that made a bad play, for then and there the game was stopped sufficiently long for Tim to stalk out on the field and administer a fitting rebuke, which often took the form of a good beating if the unhappy player was inclined to "give back talk." One Saturday in the summer, when I was about 8 years old, I was given strict instructions by my father before he started for work to go immediately after breakfast to our potato patch and put in my time picking bugs off the vines. This was a grievous matter for me, as this particular Saturday was the one when a free excursion was to be given the "poor children" of the town by one of those well-meaning societies made up of bespectacled old ladies and tall, thin men in checked pants and frock coats, who run largely to side whisks and a "what-can-I-do-for-you-Madam" smile. There was to be a band on the steamer, and, above all things, it was announced that free ice cream would be dealt out to the children as we journeyed down the river. It was with a heavy heart that I proceeded with my task when I heard a hail from across the fence, and looking in the direction, discovered Tim Reagan decked out regardless for the occasion. Things immediately took on a brighter hue, for Tim had the well merited reputation of being a wonder in finding a way out of hard places. Briefly I stated my hard luck to Tim, who listened attentively and with sympathy expressed in every feature. By the time I had ended my recital Tim had already matured his plans, which consisted of rounding up all the boys in our crowd to help in doing the work in the potato patch in a hurry. The result was that before 10 o'clock—the hour set for the sailing of the steamer—we had cleaned up all the bugs in the place and were on our way, by short cuts and at our best speed, for the river landing, where we arrived in sufficient time to get aboard before the gang plank was pulled in. The situation we found on board, however, so far as our

John Reagan Dallas, Texas, Aug. 24, 1904.

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THE waves of social unrest are rising high. Thousands are stirred in both old parties, indignant at the surrender of their political organizations to the high capitalist powers. Thousands have already left both old parties since the conventions in Chicago and St. Louis and are casting about for new affiliations, unconcerned of the presence or meaning of the Socialist party. Other thousands are rushing into our ranks, eager to join in the assault on Capitalism.

Those thousands must be educated in order to become staunch and trustworthy comrades. But education alone will not suffice. It must be rendered fertile and efficient by organization.

This is the time when the full meaning of the social revolution is borne in upon us. We want only a peaceful and orderly education. We want calm reason and enlightened intelligence to solve the social problem without blood and without iron. But the forces of reaction are brought for reason or peace, when their profits are endangered. They do not intend to study Socialism, but to suppress it without caring to

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not have to regret our inability to use arms when we must bear them.

Let us not shrink from calling things by their proper names. It may be a dangerous thing to have a lot of armed men about you, because the temptation for premature violence and useless bloodshed is a factor to be carefully considered. But remember that you have armed men all about you now, and they are all on the side of your enemies. We might as well have a few of our friends armed. If we must live among armed men, let us get used to having arms. In due time we shall acquire the discipline necessary to avoid a rash and ill-advised use of arms.

Being armed will not prevent us from being calm and continuing our peaceful work. Reason with your neighbors and educate them. But it will assist your argument materially, if you can back it up with your whole athletic personality. And what is true of the individual, is true of your organization. A street meeting attended by a dozen comrades who are accustomed to boxing, wrestling and military drill, will be less in danger of disorderly and disturbing elements. Besides, the necessity of practicing and drilling together will be an additional incentive to attend the business meetings of the local. And it will bring you all closer together and give you more confidence in yourselves.

Consider also that peace will be so much more secure, the more we impress the reactionary element with our determination to defend our manly rights to the utmost. There will be less eagerness on their part to overstep the bounds of discretion, when they know that we are prepared to retaliate in kind.

You may say that any attempt on our part to form a military organization will arouse the reactionary element so much quicker to violence. Well, they are using violence even now, whether we are armed or not. They are using as much violence against the unarmed workers of Chicago as against the armed miners of Colorado. I know that we are an insignificant minority now, and could not resist if the capitalists made a violent assault on us. But nevertheless, if they contemplated a crusade of destruction, we might as well meet them armed as unarmed and die with honor.

A majority of Socialists, well organized and determined to uphold their peaceful election victory by the help of arms, will act as a strong check upon the destructive impulses of the capitalist minority. On the other hand, if the Socialist majority is unarmed and badly organized, we shall see ourselves balked at the very threshold of victory.

I do not urge that the Socialist party be turned into a military organization with a military discipline. But I do advise the comrades to learn the art of brotherly co-operation in many arts and to acquire the faculty of transforming their local into a fighting organization at the sound of the tocsin. The greater events outside will furnish in due time those elements which will be required for the maintenance of the Socialist republic against reactionary counter-revolutions.

Let us prepare for the great events of the future and meet them with a sound body, a sound mind, and a sound organization.

Ernest Untermann

Disgusting Sherman Bell.

An Insane Man under an Insane System.

Foul-Mouthed Gen. Bell, the military pest that has been kicking the national constitution full of holes in Colorado and robbing wage workers and small merchants of all their sacred rights to home and liberty of person, has been interviewed by one Walter Wellman, a creature of the wealth interests. Wellman's mission was to give the Colorado horrors a genteel color. He gives a long account of what Gen. Bell said to him, putting in a few dashes to hide the coarseness of the speech of this unspeakable brute. That the reader may see what a fine tool of capitalist aggression and vulgar lawlessness Bell is, we give the following part of the interview with the vulgarly restored as far as it is safe to give it:

"We've simply been doing what we had to do, and having done our business I can't say that I have any particular feeling about it one way or another. And furthermore, I don't see a God d-n what the East or the South or the West or any other man thinks of it."

"Well, they started up that God d-n habeas corpus business, and I told 'em that wasn't any good—that what they needed was not habeas corpus, but post-mortems. Sheriff Robertson, the s-o-b of a b— of a Federalist, who afterward nixed out of office when they showed him a larrikin with a nose to the business end of it, wanted to serve a lot of Judge Seeds' writs on me."

"I went to see Judge Seeds, and I told the son of a b— what I thought of him, and I didn't use any Sunday School grammar either. I said there wasn't a man in Colorado who had more respect for the courts and the law than I had. 'But, by Jesus,' I added, 'you and your court have got to pay some respect to me, too. I am here to keep order, and I am going to keep it.'"

"That was just what I wanted—a test case that could be taken up to the Supreme Court. You know, when we did get to the Supreme Court we got the decision. Judge Seeds decided against us, but that didn't make any difference; it didn't turn the man loose. We had habeas corpus every few hours, but I didn't notice that it reduced any number of men we had to feed in the bull pen."

"I bluntly told Judge Seeds I was going to hold these men, and that was all there was to it. He talked a lot about the sacredness of the courts and

SOCIALISM AND THE CITY.

By WINFIELD R. GAYLORD

CONSTRUCTIVE MUNICIPAL SOCIALISM.

SOCIALISTS have been critics in the main until today, because they have had no opportunity to be anything else. They have been sufficiently occupied in most localities to maintain their right to criticize even. But with the growth of the party to political strength and the approach to political power and responsibility, comes the obligation to assume the constructive attitude and frame of mind, and begin to answer the question, "What are you going to do?" in some definite and coherent fashion.

And those who are wise in the Social-Democratic ranks will be thankful that the day of opportunity comes upon us gradually, that the doors do not open to us widely at once. The natural process of acquiring political power, under our form of government, will bring us to control first in the local, then in the state, and lastly, in the national government. And while we say, and must say, that we cannot accomplish our aim until we shall have a majority in Congress and a Socialist president in the chair; let us also recognize the fact that the very ability to elect a majority of congressmen and a president involves the responsibility for local and state administrations for some time in advance. Moreover, we do not want to leave behind us any unoccupied positions in the hands of our enemies, by means of which they could defeat us even if we were entrenched in the national seats of power.

But meanwhile, there is much to be done in the smaller circles of collective action and interest. The experiments which capitalists have been compelled to make in collective ownership and control are to be supplemented and followed up sympathetically. The "blind struggle in the dark" which has marked the evolution of the city and the state in collective ownership and control is to be replaced by a "conscious evolution." The type of the collective unit is to be brought into the course of development; the principles of collective industrial control are to be worked out; the problem of industrial democracy is to be attacked upon the smaller field, so that when it comes to its working out upon the larger national field we shall not be ignorant either of the principles nor of the practical difficulties. There will be need also of men who have the confidence of the people—confidence won in the local fields of administration and legislation, who have proven their ability and honesty in the service of those they represent.

Let us be frank enough to say, that if the complete political power were to come at once and all at once into the hands of the Social-Democratic party we should be embarrassed by its possession now, and in the end would probably be hindered by very excess of responsibility in the doing of those things which we desire to do. It is the recognition of such facts as this that has brought the majority of the members of the party face to face with the necessity for the adoption and working out of a program, and has put the impossibilists gently but firmly outside the ranks of the working class political movement. Those who expect to achieve the Co-operative Commonwealth, not by hard intellectual and social labor, but by some sudden catastrophe, belong not among the ranks of Social-Democrats, but among the Anarchists.

For should the catastrophe come, in spite of the patience of the working class and the unwillingness of the Social-Democrats to make or suffer violence, it will mean that we must face problems only the more difficult because of the social disorganization and the personal bitterness that will inevitably follow any such outbreak.

the need of everybody bowing to its decrees. "That's all very nice," says I, "but who is going to enforce your God d-d decrees?" The sheriff," he says; "the sheriff has the power to call on all the able-bodied men in the county to help him."

"They may be able-bodied men when they start in," says I, "but they'll be damned disabled before they get through. You just tell that God d-d sheriff to come over. He knows where to find me. But you also tell him I've got the military law behind me, the soldiers, the guns and the ammunition, and that I'll shoot him and every s-o-b of a b— that tries to take my prisoners away from me."

"The judge saw he was up against it and the sheriff didn't come over. Later on I had another scence with this same d-d Judge Seeds, and I says to him: 'Now, you just go to butting in around here and interfering with military operations. God d-n you, and I'll throw you in the Bull Pen and keep you there.'"

"And furthermore, we have military rule here. While you are in this district you'll be attended by a detail of my men. If you go to shooting off your mouth or interfering with military operations they know what to do. They'll throw you in, and once you're in it may take a God d-d long time to get out."

"Great time we had when we brought President Moyer from Telluride to produce him before the Supreme Court," continued General Bell. "Here at the hotel in Denver that s-o-b of a b— Haywood butted in, and I gave the sign to my boys. They smashed him up. They didn't kill him, but he'll never know why."

"He's too valuable for other purposes. We took the s— of a b— to a room upstairs and sent for a surgeon to fix him up. Then Captain Lee of the Denver police, with twenty-seven policemen, came after him."

"You can work martial law in Telluride," said Captain Lee, "but it doesn't go in Denver. Where is Haywood?"

"He's upstairs," I said. "There's the stairs. Third room at the right when you reach the top. You'll have no trouble in finding the right room. But it is only fair to tell you that every man that starts up those stairs will be shot."

"I didn't see any policemen going up the stairway. They never bugled. If I'd raised my finger my men would have killed the whole bunch. It looked God d-d warn for a minute; street outside was jammed with people, mostly God d-d unionists; there was great excitement."

"If anything had cut loose do you know what I'd done? First, I'd have got rid of those policemen. Then I'd have shot out the whole plate glass front of that hotel. That would have cleaned out the mob in the streets. By that time we should have wanted our breakfast."

"Well, after breakfast we'd have started for the State House to deliver Moyer to the Supreme Court. I'd have taken all day to it. We'd have stopped every block or two to rest, and if anybody had wanted trouble with us they would have had no difficulty in getting it."

"We'd have shot everybody that got in our way, policemen or anybody else."

"As for that s— of a b— Haywood, I wanted to take him back to Telluride as a military prisoner, but the God d-d lawyers butted in—God d-n 'em—and I had to turn him loose. But while he was under the surgeon's care upstairs I told the guards: 'If he makes a move, raises an arm, or attacks you, shoot him quick, AND BE SURE HE'S DEAD.'"

"I don't know what you sentimental Eastern fellows think about it and I don't care. If I had it to do over again I'd do it just the same way, only I'd do it a God d-d sight quicker."

Wellman gives himself dead away by the following closing paragraph:

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Government is organized today on the basis of certain arbitrary bonds of territory. The unit of government, the political unit in the country is the state. The national government is the "federal government," that is to say, it is a federation of states, having certain uniform rights and powers within themselves. Local governments, such as county, town and city, are completely under the control of the respective state governments, under the limitations of the national constitution. Charters are granted to cities by state legislatures, and can be amended only by state action. Even the taxing power is completely in the hands of the state, which can and does exempt certain properties from municipal taxation, in view of a certain tax paid to the state. Municipalities are limited, expressly, by state law from entering into any lines of industrial or commercial effort, unless specifically permitted to do so. The stronghold of private property is in the state government. But the natural point at which the socialization of industry begins is the municipality.

Thus the Social-Democrat has a two-fold problem to work out. He must secure from the local state governments permission for the municipalities to act freely within the sphere of their own life and interests. To do this he must overcome the prejudice and ignorance of the dwellers in the country who know little and are likely to care less about the affairs of the city. But he will be strengthened in his efforts by the growing interests of the small towns and cities, and the fact that the representatives of these in the state legislatures will be better organized and more accustomed to organized action than those from the country.

Thus it becomes plain that Municipal Autonomy is really the first one of the planks to be put in the Social-Democratic State and Municipal program. Until this is had, in all matters which concern the interests of the municipality, there can be but scant progress in social development. Indeed this is today the chief obstacle in the way of municipal progress.

Municipal Autonomy should be secured for every municipality, giving the following powers:

1. Complete political home rule.
2. Complete control over all taxing and bonding transactions which are proper to the life and welfare of the city.
3. Freedom to engage in any enterprise, within or without its own territory, except as specifically prohibited by state or national law.

The ideal is, self-government for city, state and nation. And this can and must be attained for the city, if Democracy is to have its way. That it will be attained, is guaranteed far more by the growth of urban population than by any propaganda or agitation of the Social-Democrat. Indeed, it is the purpose of this article to show that the guarantee of all the things for which we have reason to hope lies rather, and much more, in the economic and industrial development than in our own actions as a propaganda, or even as a political, movement. It is the function of the Social-Democratic party to consciously seize the opportunity, direct the arousing social consciousness, and by study and forethought provide against reactions which might destroy in a month the whole fruit of centuries of civilization.

The Social-Democratic members of state assemblies and local governments will do well not to regard themselves merely as the represent-

(Continued on page 4.)

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Eventful Year for Labor

Stedman Reminds the Workers of a Few Things.

THE laboring hosts of America again assemble and take counsel with each other. What has the past year brought them?—what will the coming year bring?

A sovereign state—the Centennial—civil law is shattered—by the roots, and a military grasps the power of government. Loot and pilfer the co-ops of workers. Condemns the Dick Military Bill, which the president may enlist the striking workers of Illinois from 18 to 35 are called at any time, nay, are during times of peace members of the national militia.

Instructions multiply by the day in a single suit. In Chicago machinists are cited for great political parties as in convention and finding no man WORTHY and FIT, lawyers, a strike-breaking and a military strenuousness, standard bearers, then in the platforms devote a small paragraph to the working class, telling "have rights before the law."

A great discovery championed by two capitalist candidates in the Pullman River, Mass., comes to the aid of the unemployed, and is followed by the sign of the locked door exist in Pullman's "Model City."

Eighty Sam. Gompers and the L. of L. with its hosts and hosts of workers AND VOTERS, and smel and implore for a national hour bill, and are sent away, while Congress appropriates funds to enlarge the stables of Roosevelt's horses, more serious consideration have more commanding influence than organized labor of America, this "poor and simple" wretched of Russia and are destroying each other for the masters' greed.

The governments of the world are washed in mail, huckler and possessing cannons, mitrailleuses, and billions for war and a half of sacred property and

capitalism. For the textile factory yielding its dividends by tearing out the heart, eyes and entrails of infants to the wild war combats of world powers, we behold a streaming gulch filled with plodding workers. Upon the plains in the stockyards, in the rolling mills, they create the food for all, clothing for all, and steel for the battle ships of their masters. It all comes from those who labor and fight and die for the power and glory of the Czars, the Kaisers, Kings, Lords and Capitalists—these moles, belching mammoths.

Another convention assembles, of workmen, representing every class, woman and man who adds to this world's riches and has a right to live. Here Katayama of Japan and Plechanoff of Russia clasp hands—two workmen of hostile governments united heart and soul for Socialism—FOR PEACE, and brotherhood between the people of the Orient and the Occident—that peace, justice and righteousness which priests, philosophers, seers, savants and the hallowed might of the world have failed to establish, is the mission of the working class.

A national convention assembled in Chicago, also composed of workmen. They nominated a workingman for President and one for Vice-President, and declared their purpose to be the destruction of capitalism, substituting therefor a Social-Democracy. Such was the greatest Labor Day of the year, for "by their acts, ye shall know them."

How useful: desire or hope for better conditions, with protest and complaint, there is a political division of the "voting kings" who like the dumb brute upon a treadmill is ever stepping without gain or profit, and never reaching the top.

The strikes won the past year encourage—the strikes lost instruct—the industrial depression sweeping across the civilized world will bring its lesson, hard and inexorable—the innocent must suffer with the guilty. Those (the Socialists) who know the solution must wait patiently and painfully for those so blind and so deaf.

Workmen now parade together, then divide at the polls. This division is defeat. When they vote as they strike, and vote as they parade, then we will have a great Labor Day, and labor days will multiply as rapidly as labor will it, and each will come to their own, and then, the stars may sing together and all will realize the full joy of living.

Seymour Stedman

United Hatters of North America.

This is the Union Label of the United Hatters of North America.

When you are buying a FOR HAT, either soft or stiff, see to it that the Genuine Union Label is sewed in it. If a retailer has loose labels in his possession and offers to put one in a hat for you, do not patronize him. He has not any right to have loose labels. Loose labels in retail stores are everywhere. Do not listen to any explanation as to why the hat has no label. The Genuine Union Label is perforated on four edges exactly like a postage stamp. Counterfeiters are sometimes tempted to use this label in order to get rid of their scam-made hats. The John B. Stetson Co., of Philadelphia, Pa., is a non-union concern.

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MARTIN LAWLER, Secretary, Room 15, 11 Waverly Place, New York, N. Y.

When purchasing cigars see that this label is on the box.

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A Letter from West Va.

Editor Herald: When I arrived at McMechen, West Virginia, May 24, there were nine locals in the state, two of them unchartered, and only four in good standing. There was no active state organization, except an acting state secretary in the person of F. A. Zimmerman of McMechen, who had volunteered to do the work.

There had never been a state nominating convention of the party. I remained in West Virginia until the evening of August 13. During that time I made 48 speeches in the state and 6 on the Ohio side. When I left the state there were 22 locals, all in good standing, I believe, but two.

A state nominating convention was held at McMechen July 3, an account of which you have already had. There is a complete state organization, with headquarters for the coming year at McMechen; with a local quorum composed of one member from each of the locals of Wheeling, McMechen and Moundsville; with an able and painstaking state secretary in the person of Dr. Geo. B. Kline of McMechen. A strong working state constitution has been adopted.

The party has a complete electoral, state and congressional ticket in the field standing upon a strong platform. County tickets will be nominated in several counties.

The Socialist movement in West Virginia is in a vigorous and active condition, and there is certain to be a large increase in the vote. Steps are being taken to vigorously push the work throughout the state.

M. W. WILKINS.
Cumberland, Md.

DEFINITIONS OF SOCIALISM.

The collective ownership of the means of production and distribution. A theory of society that advocates a more precise, orderly and harmonious arrangement of the social relations of mankind than that which has hitherto prevailed. (Webster's Dictionary.)

A science of reconstructing society on an entirely new basis, by substituting the principle of association for that of competition in every branch of human industry. (Worcester's Dictionary.)

A theory that aims to secure the reconstruction of society, increase of wealth, and a more equal distribution of the products of labor and capital (as distinguished from property), and the public collective management of all industries. Its motto is: "Everyone according to his deeds." (Standard Dictionary.)

"Socialism Made Plain" by Allan L. Benson. A big book for ten cents. It will make thousands of converts.

Notice to Camden, N. J., readers. L. Juster, 17 Hudson St., Camden, N. J., is authorized to take subscriptions for this paper.

Notice, Philadelphia. Everybody wishing to subscribe for the "Social-Democratic Herald" drop a postal to Jos. P. Nick, 517 N. 8th St., and will receive prompt attention.

This paper may be had ten weeks for ten cents. Try it.

"Confessions of Capitalism," five cents each; thirty copies, one dollar.

Gleanings from Busy Socialistic Fields!

NOTE: In some states the organization is known as the Socialist Party, in others as the Social Democratic Party. Where the term "local" is used it does not refer to trade union locals, but to the local body

NOTES FROM YANKEE LAND.

Illinois will send out a second state organizer.

The Luzerne Co., Pa., Socialists have nominated Comrade Charles F. Quinn of Wilkes-Barre for congress.

Comrade Joseph Foley of the Stone Cutters' union is doing effective street speaking at Concord, N.H.

Secretary McFadden of Local Des Moines will have a tent at the Iowa State Fair and will distribute and sell Socialist literature. Not a bad idea.

Comrade John Collins, Socialist candidate for governor of Illinois, was arrested for street speaking at Springfield, that state, the other day. He was acquitted, much to the discomfiture of the police.

The Nashua, N. H., comrades have entered the local campaign with the courage to meet local issues, instead of shirking under a siren song of "Sweet Bye and Bye." Practical work, never losing sight of the ultimate goal, will bring the co-operative commonwealth much sooner than fanatical utopianism.

The police at Council Bluffs, put in office by the capitalist interests, have been arresting Socialist street speakers. One comrade was arrested because he picked up the soap box after the police had stopped the meeting. The chief of police naively claimed that the speakers were arrested because they made an attack on the rich! thus giving his real reason away. This country belongs to the rich.

Labor Day speakers.—John W. Brown, Newport News, Va.; J. Mahlon Barnes, Milwaukee, Wis.; R. T. Behrens, Kansas City, Mo.; Jas. H. Brower, Jacksonville, Wis.; Wm. H. Brandt, St. Louis, Mo.; W. C. Critchlow, St. Marys, O.; Jas. F. Carey, Schenectady, N. Y.; Eugene V. Debs, Erie, Pa.; A. H. Floaten, Mystic, Iowa; Geo. H. Goebel, Walla Walla, Wash.; Ben. Hanford, Haverhill, Mass.; Ida Crouch Hazlett, Basin, Mont.; G. A. Hoehn, Springfield, Mo.; Max Hayes, Clinton, Iowa; Gertrude Breslau Hunt, Stoughton, Ill.; Matthew Hallenberger, Central City,

tatives of a political machine which has thrust them into positions of more or less power, as rather the forerunners of that coming industrial state, or social organization, which has cast them on ahead, as the breaking crest of a coming wave, or as scouts before an army.

They are to fight "on a parliamentary basis the class struggle which brought into existence the Socialist movement" in all lands. And their functions may be spoken of as being two-fold, (1) educative or agitative, and (2) effective.

The first of these functions will doubtless be the principal one while the party is so far in the minority that it cannot gain sufficient aid to carry out any portion of its program. It will be most effectively accomplished by the introduction of well-drawn measures which look toward the immediate benefit of the working class of the community; by minority reports, when the Social-Democrat is appointed on committees of various bodies; by administrative or executive decisions and actions which give decided advantage to the working class as such, if there should offer opportunity for such action. Even if the latter should be over-ruled, or perhaps, even more by its being over-ruled, the attention of the working class will be attracted to the facts connected with its present enslavement, and so made the more intelligent as to the way of release.

The second function, of effective action, by which is meant the actual securing of political action favorable to the working class, while likely to be somewhat deferred with respect to large results, should nevertheless be kept constantly in mind, as having sufficient promise of immediate results to warrant some plan of procedure and some program of effort.

All measures are to be considered in the light of their bearing upon the working class as such. Those which will prepare the working people for their part in the class struggle—by increase of their intelligence, by strengthening their bodies, by securing independence of livelihood for them—are to be considered as so many weapons making for their victory. On the other hand, the taking away from the capitalist class of exclusive privileges, making the courts free to all, and securing as far as possible the limitation of those powers—financial, legal, social and political—which have accumulated in the hands of that class, will tend of course by weakening the opposing class to make the victory of the working class more easy and more certain at every step.

And this same idea of the "class struggle" may well be the guiding star of the Social-Democratic legislator and administrator: for the problem of Constructive Socialism is after all not so much like the planning and building of a great dwelling, as it is like the organization of an army, with which to take possession of the enemy's camp and territory. It is to organize for taking possession, for keeping possession and for proper use in possession, of the social and industrial structure already in existence, that we must bend our energies and intelligence. And here is the reason why the Social-Democratic strategist must know thoroughly the nature of the country to be possessed, and the nature of the enemy's organization, his strength and weakness.

The previous chapters have shown that the capitalist class, by reason of the industrial development, has been compelled to give up one position after another. This is due to the fact that while there is a capitalist class which can be considered as a unit politically and socially, on the industrial and commercial field there are antagonistic elements within this class which endeavor to take advantage of each other. In their struggle for mastery among themselves, they voluntarily abandon one position after another to the people as a whole—the working class, which thereby has been strengthened, educated, uplifted, given political equality etc. But hitherto the working class has exerted itself to gain these things for itself in only a slight degree. The control over the government has always been maintained by the capitalist class, and the control over the essential means of exploitation. They are today, though they have given up so much, still the masters. The ownership of the labor-saving machines of the world gives to them the great power of controlling civilization. If the hours of labor have been reduced, they still have a larger product than before; if wages even are somewhat higher, they have control over the throttle that determines the price level; if water is cheap through municipal ownership, and streets are lighted free, the price of rent makes up the difference to the ready capitalist, while street-car fares and electric light bills fill in the crevices made by the struggle of the trades unions. Coal we know how to mine and ship, but we do not control the machinery that must be used to handle it; ice we have at our door in winter, and willing hands to handle it, but we do not—alas—own even land enough nor buildings enough to store the stuff until hot weather makes of it a necessity in a great city.

Yes, it is possession that we are striving for. And all gifts of law and liberties are as nothing, if the people do not control those things which have become necessary to their common life.

It is for the Social-Democrat to understand and take advantage of the fact that, in the struggles now going on in society, there are social groups which at various times will find their temporary interests to be served, by the application of some principle which the Social-Democrat knows to be permanently valuable to the working class. An illustration of this is to be found in a recent occurrence in Milwaukee. The formation of an ice combine had forced the price of ice to an unheard of level. Merchants of all sorts who used ice protested, but to no effect. A mass

meeting was called, but attended mainly by Social-Democrats. A local lawyer appealed to the State Attorney of Wisconsin for an investigation, which will doubtless turn out very much as have all other attempts at "trust-busting." Co-operative ice companies have been organized and their stock offered for sale. The public mind is greatly stirred, and, most important of all, certain business elements see that their interests will be as well served by the public ownership and operation of an ice plant as by the same sort of water supply. Accordingly, when the Social-Democrat goes to Madison next fall, as some of them expect to go in the capacity of legislators, they will find the way prepared for the enactment of a law which, while benefitting a class which is more or less temporary in the nature of the industrial development, will at the same time provide permanently for one of the necessities of the life of the people being furnished under their own control and ownership.

It is for the Social-Democratic legislator to see to it that the organization of this plant is of such a character that it will not too easily fall a prey to the profit-hungry corporation or the hoodle-seeking politician, and this he will do by following well-established principles of public control and democratic discipline.

It is the duty of the working class representative in legislative office to forward the socialization of all enterprises as much as possible, and secure their operation on the lines of industrial democracy. In doing this he will meet the opposition of the capitalist representatives, who will of course wish to have these enterprises operated as much as possible for their own benefit. And he may anticipate efforts on their part along the following lines, essentially:

(1) By operation on the usual principle of commercial transactions, giving special privileges to large users and rebates or reductions to large consumers.

(2) By operation at a profit, and the application of these profits to the reduction of private taxes.

(3) By keeping remunerative positions in connection with such enterprises at such a salary level as to provide comfortable positions for members of their class, and insisting that only members of their class are fit for such places.

(4) By perpetuation of the contract system in public works, to give opportunity for "rake-off" and "graft" to members of their class or friends.

(5) By limitation of financing and bonding powers of the municipality, so as to throw the financial control into the hands of the present financial aristocracy, etc., etc., etc.

On the other hand, the representatives of the working class will constantly endeavor to modify these activities in ways like the following:

(1) Public enterprises to be operated,

(a) either free of cost to the public, and paid for out of the general fund;

(b) or service to be furnished at cost of production;

(c) or service furnished at a profit, the profit to be applied in such a manner as to benefit the whole people, and not to reduce taxes.

(2) By application of civil service principle and equalization of salaries.

(3) By inaugurating a complete system of public works departments in state and local affairs.

(4) By enlarging bonding and financing powers of state and local governments, so as to deliver the people from the money power and the bankers.

(5) By introduction of initiative and referendum on all matters pertaining to the public welfare or the holding of public office. Under this head will come the use of all modern methods of facilitating the voting of the people, such as electrically connected voting machines, etc.

From what has been said it will be seen that the Social-Democrat will not have to violate any principle of his party faith which prohibits fusion or trading votes in legislative action. But knowing, as others do not know, the undercurrents which are at work, he will forward the plans of the working class now through this and now by that channel, or by the aid of the co-operative social or industrial group which may be composed of representatives from different and opposite political parties. As an economic expert he will know how to clear the channel of popular legislation for those things which will benefit his class, while understanding also how to play opposing forces against each other for hindering legislation hurtful to his class.

Constructive Socialism is like constructive landscape gardening. It consists not in a mere upheaval of existing forms, so much as in a shaping and forming of elements already present and in process of growth. And the wise men will realize that their part lies in disturbing as little as possible the normal constructive process, and in pruning only the useless and dead or dying branches of the social and industrial organism.

This point of view will not prevent the pruning process, but will rather give the required nerve for that operation when it is necessary, since it will enable the social architect to understand and properly balance in his mind the value of the various forces and elements with which he has to do.

It will not all be gentle action. Now and then there may have to be quick and hard action. But the writer is persuaded that the point of view maintained in these chapters is the one which will best prepare the public representative of the working class to meet all emergencies, and do the least of harm as well as the most of good, when opportunity shall be given him to act.

WISCONSIN.—New branches have been organized in North Milwaukee, Town of Greenfield and Gordon, Ashland Co. Kenosha comrades will hold a picnic at Anderson's Park, Sept. 18. All who want a good time should attend.

Kenosha County has put up the following Social-Democratic ticket: For assemblyman, Walter W. Britton; for county treasurer, Hugh Wallace; for district attorney, Wm. Kaufmann; for county clerk, John Burns; for clerk of the circuit court, John B. Ellison; for surveyor, Robert Wilson; for sheriff, Lyman Larabee; for coroner, Joseph Orth.

Oncida county convention will be held Aug. 29 at Rhineland. Waukesha county convention at Waukesha, Sept. 2. Columbia county convention at Wyocena, Sept. 2, and Eau Claire county convention at Eau Claire, Aug. 31. 10th Congressional convention will meet at Grand Rapids, Aug. 31.

Wood county convention was held at Vesper, Aug. 19, with over forty delegates present. A lively discussion was participated in upon the drawing up of the platform, some of the comrades opposing the immediate demands. The following ticket was nominated: Geo. W. Otto, county clerk; L. Vollesen, county treasurer; John Schlager, clerk of court; J. W. Schlafke, register of deeds; G. W. Lunday, sheriff; Dr. C. A. Boorman, superintendent of schools; J. W. Clock, coroner; H. E. Ward, assemblyman. The convention closed with three lusty cheers for Socialism.

ACROSS THE HERRING POND.

The following resolutions against compromises in the policy of the International Social-Democracy were passed at the Amsterdam Congress:

"We decidedly condemn the attempts of the Revisionists to change our heretofore victorious policy, based upon the class struggle, to a policy by which the conquest of the powers of the state would be replaced by making compromises with our enemies.

"The consequences of such a policy would be that our party, whose object it is, to as soon as possible, change the present social system to that of the Co-operative Commonwealth, a party with a thoroughly revolutionary policy, would be replaced by a party satisfied with reforming the present social system.

"Therefore, we believe, contrary to the policy of the Revisionists, that the class struggle will not become less intense, but constantly more aggravated and we herewith declare:

"1. That the party declines to assume the responsibility for the political and economic conditions resulting from the capitalist system and, therefore, refuses to support any measures calculated to assist the ruling classes in continuing them in power.

"2. That the Social-Democracy, in accordance with the Kautsky resolutions adopted by the International Socialist Congress of Paris in 1900, cannot take part in bourgeois government.

"We, furthermore, condemn all attempts to cover up the existing social contrasts, in order to bring about a co-operation with bourgeois parties."

The Social-Democrats of Holland submitted the following statement for passage on the subject of the relation of Socialists to the Colonial policy of the big capitalist governments:

"These recent days political Paris has not been in Paris. It was in attention and in interest at Amsterdam, at the International Socialist congress. This is explained by the fact that a large share of the work of the congress is devoted to France. In the labor of the committees as well as in the public debates France was the only subject discussed, and that, it must be said, was not out of excess of sympathy on the part of other countries for ours, but on account of the spectacle that the French delegates made of themselves. While the representatives of all other nations were well disciplined, and the sole Japanese delegate, transported with enthusiasm, as are all the Japanese now, always approved what the majority said and did, the French representatives were divided and seemed to have come to the congress only to excommunicate each other from the international ranks."

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Dates for Comrade Daniel White have been made as follows, subject to change: Milwaukee, Sept. 1-4; Fond du Lac, 0; Sheboygan, 7; Manitowish, 8; Two Rivers, 9; Chilton, 10; Plymouth, 11; Brillion, 12; Kewaunee, 13; Algoma, 14. T. H. Lucas will spend two weeks in campaign speaking in Milwaukee. He will hold open air meetings in all parts of the city.

Carl D. Thompson's dates are as follows, subject to change: Sept. 15, Hudson; 16, Chippewa Falls; 17, Eau Claire; 18, 19 and 20, Wood County; 21, Portage; 22, Janesville; 23, Beloit; 24, Watertown; 25, Milwaukee.

Rock County has nominated the following ticket: County Treasurer, W. Williams, Janesville; County Clerk, John R. Horn, Janesville; Clerk of the Court, W. H. Phelps, Janesville; Register of Deeds, Chas. H. Conger, Beloit; Surveyor, F. Burdick, Milton Junction; Sheriff, Peter Christoffson, Beloit; Coroner, G. H. Parker, Beloit.

T. H. Lucas will speak in Kleider's Hall, Cudahy, cor. Packard and Layton aves., Sept. 9, at 7:30 P. M.

Wake up! Get your acquaintances to wake up. The Social Democratic Herald is the best alarm clock. Why not give it a trial and see?

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Official Paper of the Federated Trades Council of Milwaukee and of the
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Entered at Milwaukee Post-office as Second-class Matter, Aug. 20, 1901.

What International Socialism Demands:

1. Collective ownership of public utilities and all industries in the hands of Trusts and Combinations.
2. Democratic management of each collective industry.
3. Reduction of the hours of labor and progressively increased remuneration.
4. State and National Insurance for the workers and honorable rest for old age.
5. The inauguration of public industries to safeguard the workers against lack of employment.
6. Education of ALL children up to the age of 18 years. No child labor.
7. Equal political and civil rights for men and women.

If you believe in the above vote with the Social-Democrat.

Growth of the Socialist Ballot in Four Leading Nations.

| UNITED STATES. | | 1881 | 1884 | 1887 | 1890 | 1893 | 1896 | 1899 | 1900 |
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| 1900 | 105,903 | 1896 | 101,000 | 1899 | 101,000 | 1900 | 101,000 | 1896 | 101,000 |
| 1900 | 105,903 | 1896 | 101,000 | 1899 | 101,000 | 1900 | | | |

Competition and Death
versus
Co-operation and Life.

Bourke Cockran summed up the favorite "scientific" argument for the competitive capitalist system very clearly some years ago, when he appeared before the Trust Conference that was held in Chicago. He said:

"Competition is not warfare, in the sense of being destructive. Competition is the best method of ascertaining the place of greatest utility for each individual. Believe me, every man has an aptitude for some occupation. A man who is defeated in one field of competition is not excluded from the whole field of production, but he is transferred from a field of lesser to a field of greater efficiency. Competition prevents a misdirection of powers."

Now this reads smoothly and it may seem to be wisdom to many superficial observers and even victims, but the trouble is it is not true. Upon investigation it will be found not to have a leg to stand on.

We want to put the question squarely to the average working man, the average wage worker, store worker or factory worker, it makes no difference: Do you find from actual experience and from observation of the experiences of the workers of your class, that competition—that is, the capitalist system—is the best method that could be devised to do justice to all people in the determining of their life work? You will have to answer this in the negative.

Outside of the interests of the workers themselves, the best interests of the capitalist system are not served by this "best method." Who can estimate the amount of genius that is misplaced under the capitalist "best method of ascertaining the place of greatest utility?" Who is able to measure the amount of human genius that a life in a coal mine snuffs out, for instance?

If what Bourke Cockran says is true then everybody today is placed where his abilities can be of the greatest service to production and to progress. Is this true? No. On the contrary, nine-tenths of the workers are held to employments they have no heart in. Only the best work is done when it is done in an interested manner. How about the woman in the factory? How about the baby mill slaves? Are they where they belong?

Under the capitalist system there must be waste so long as there is competition, but the saddest waste of all waste is the waste of human lives. It is an exhausting system, and those whose lives are not wholly crushed out of their bodies, soon run up a fund of ill health, but must work on, or starve on if work cannot be had.

For the great wage army the landscapes smile in vain. Nature is beautiful. The world is filled with countless delights—but not for the man of industry, the man who serves society by his productive labor.

No competition is not the "best method" of putting each man in his place, but it is a successful method of cheapening labor, in the interests of the capitalists. The capitalists have found out how ruinous competition is between the members of their own class, and are now resorting to combination from the necessity of the case. For themselves the big capitalists want no competition, but for the small business men and the wage workers it is just the thing. It makes sure of the rapid downfall of the small business man and gets him out of the way, and it reduces the wage workers to the necessity of a scramble to see who shall work and who shall starve. It sets them to underbidding each other for work and thus keeps wages down.

The workers have been advised by the capitalists to their own destruction. Taking the advice of the enemy doesn't pay. Only a reconstruction of society by which only the industries will be successful instead of the drones, as at present, will help the workingman.

The scales are falling from the worker's eyes. He feels that a new and humane and sane system of industry is just beyond and that his vote is needed to help bring it into view. In imagination he can smell the fragrance of its followers and its sunshine. He wants the day to come when the wealth he produces will be his and when men will all be as brothers, with the necessity for craft, deception and over-reaching gone. When it will prosper a man to be honest, guileless and sweet. He is coming to see the wrongs entailed in Mr. Cockran's "good method" and he is enabled and brightened by the knowledge that upon him personally rests the necessity of helping in the new system. The uphill work of the Socialist advance is now nearly passed, the tide has turned and the movement is destined to sweep on from victory to victory. A groaning humanity calls out that this must be. And in such a world saving task, once seeing, no power on earth can hold the worker from responding to the call to duty.

(Continued from Page 2.)

Mr. Fairbanks, the Republican candidate for Vice President, is a corporation attorney of the first class and a plutocrat in good and regular standing.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

In referring to the Democratic party in this discussion we may save time by simply saying that since it was born again at the St. Louis convention it is near enough like its Republican ally to pass for a twin brother.

The former party of the "common people" is no longer under the bosom of the plutocracy since it has adopted the Wall street line and renounced its middle class character.

The radical and progressive element of the former Democracy have been ousted and must seek other quarters. They were all united.

ed nianism in the conservative counsels of the old party.

Where but to the Socialist party can these progressive people turn? They are now without a party and the only genuine Democratic party in the field is the Socialist party and every true Democrat should thank Wall street for driving him out of a party that is democratic in name only and into one that is democratic in fact.

A TRUST JUBILEE.

The St. Louis convention was a trust jubilee. The Wall street reorganizers made short work of the free silver element. From first to last it was a capitalist convention. Labor was totally ignored. As an incident, two thousand chairs were reserved for the Business Men's League of St. Louis, an organization hostile to organized labor, but not a chair was tendered in those where labor had built the convention hall, had shined, transported, fed and washed the delegates and whom were seated on so they were in many cases

The Herald takes pleasure in presenting the counterfeited presentation of Allan L. Benson, the author of "Socialism Made Plain," and "The Confessions of Capitalism," and a valued contributor to the columns of this paper. We have done this in response to many requests and after several appeals for a photograph which we made to Comrade Benson himself. Our readers will see in the likeness we present a thoughtful, frank and analytical face, and withal a man so well preserved that he looks still youthful, although a stranger of gray hair just above the forehead disillusion us. Moreover, this tall-tale adomment is not needed, for his writings proclaim him a man of mature mind and experience with the world. A strong trait of his character is perseverance and fearlessness for the right, a rebel against all that is sordid and mercenary, and to illustrate this we will give a glimpse into a personal letter written the editor, trusting that Comrade Benson will not be too severe on us for taking such a liberty. He chafed a good deal under the limitations put on him as managing editor of the Detroit Times. In his daily editorial contribution to the paper he felt suffocated if he could not have free rein and elbow room to say the things he knew the people needed to have said, and the

necessity for writing to suit the political policy of the paper, and to stifle at times the truth as he saw it, was hard to bear up under and so he



ALLAN L. BENSON.

has finally left the Times and in the letter we refer to informs us that in his new position at the head of the Michigan agency of one of the

large insurance companies, he has in two weeks written \$32,000 worth of insurance, and broken the record of the office. So you see that the old cry that Socialists were not practical men or willing to work, is disproved in his case at least—and it never did have any foundation in fact anyway. Before going to the Times, Comrade Benson was an editorial writer on Hearst's New York paper, and he has a good deal of the Brisbane style in his writing. It was while on the New York Evening Journal that he became a convert to Socialism. He had gradually seen through the hollowness of Hearstism and was prompted by a statement which Dr. Lyman Abbott made to the effect that "nothing can stay the progress of Socialism, and nothing ought to stay it," made a study of Socialism and saw at once that it was the truth he had so long groped after. A prostituted capitalist press has driven a good newspaper man out of the fold, the sort of a writer, the people stand sorely in need of, perhaps permanently, or at least until the editorial work of the daily press develops to the point where it can be faithful to humanity and break its bondage to the wealth interests. Meantime, Comrade Benson will write occasionally for the Herald, for his Socialist convictions will demand an outlet.

The Love of the Capitalist Press for Labor.

Allan L. Benson Discloses the Hypocrisy of the Old Party Newspapers.

If there be any one thing that the capitalist press more dearly loves than another, it is labor.

With this fact, most persons are tolerably familiar, because the capitalist press itself proclaims its undying allegiance to the toiling masses on an average of at least 365 times a year.

"What can we do for labor?" is the cry that daily goes up from a thousand printing presses—a cry that is echoed and re-echoed as many times as there are papers printed. And to the discerning—to the man who understands—come back the varying echoes, "What can we do for labor?" "How can we 'do' labor?"

I believe I know a little more about the REAL attitude of the capitalist press toward labor than is known by the average newspaper reader. For 14 years prior to August 1, last, I was connected, either as reporter, editorial writer, or managing editor, with large dailies in Detroit, Salt Lake City, San Francisco, Chicago and New York. And to this day, I never hear that old cry of "What can we do for labor?" that I do not think of the similar question that Alexander put to Diogenes.

The great Alexander, weary of world-conquering, made a long journey to the side of a sea where he had heard there was confined a wonderful old man who had been captured by pirates.

Taken to the sandy shore, he found Diogenes seated in a tub enjoying the bright morning sunlight. He plied him with questions and was at first pleased and then delighted with the brilliancy of the old philosopher's answers.

And finally, in an outburst of patronizing condescension, the great warrior exclaimed, "Oh, my good man, what CAN I do for you?"

To which the haughty Diogenes, mused to anybody's alms, quickly made reply:

"You can get out of my sunlight. I came here to enjoy the warmth of the sun which is my right—not to accept favors—even from a king."

Two thousand years and more have passed since then, but the counterfeit spirit of Alexander is still embodied in the attitude of the capitalist press toward labor.

Unfortunately, however, the real spirit of Diogenes is not embodied in those who produce the wealth of the country.

If it were, labor, replying to the question of the capitalist press, would say: "You can cease to aid those who are robbing us."

For capitalism, labor's "Old Man of the Sea" would soon be thrown off by labor if it were not for the efforts of the capitalist press to keep him on.

driven cattle, to pull the ticket through in November.

As another incident, when Lieutenant Richmond Hobson dramatically declared that President Cleveland had been the only president who had ever been patriotic enough to use the federal troops to crush union labor, the trust agents, lobbyists, tools and clackers screamed with delight and the convention shook with applause.

The platform is precisely the same as the Republican platform in relation to labor. It says nothing and means the same. A plank was proposed condemning the outrages in Colorado under Republican administration, but upon order from the Parryites it was promptly thrown aside.

The editor of "America Industries," organ of the Manufacturers' Association, commented at length in the issue of July 18th, on the triumph of capital and the defeat of labor at both Republican and Democratic national conventions. Among other things, he said: "The two labor lobbies, partly similar in make-up, were, to put it bluntly, thrown out bodily in both places."

What more than this is needed to open the eyes of workmen to the fact that neither of these parties in their party and that they are as "strangled out" of place in them as Rockefeller and Vanderbilt would be in the Socialist party?

And how many more times are they to be "kicked out bodily" before they stay out and join the party of their class in which labor is not only honored, but is supreme, a party that is clean, that has no graft, no bribes, no party that will one day sweep the country and leave the Proclamation of Labor's Emancipation!

Judge Allan B. Parker corresponds precisely to the Democratic platform. It was made to order for him. His famous

Yet the capitalist press, whatever its pretensions to the contrary, will always be found working FOR capitalism and AGAINST labor, for the very simple reason that the daily newspapers of the country are owned by men of large financial interests, who are as diligently engaged in exploiting labor as are any other capitalists.

They exploit their reporters to the limit. Reporters have not yet learned the desirability of organizing unions, and are therefore at the mercy of their employers. Nor do the employers scruple to exercise the opportunities of their position to the utmost. The average mechanic receives as much pay as the average reporter, while a carpenter or a bricklayer receives much more.

The rule of the newspaper publisher—WHO DEARLY LOVES LABOR—is like the rule of all other capitalists, who differ from the newspaper publisher only in that they are less hypocritical. And that rule is to pay the smallest wages upon which his employees will consent to exist. This fact is well illustrated by an instance that I now recall that occurred on a certain newspaper whose publisher prates much about his love for the "forgotten man."

There was under consideration the question of getting a certain reporter from Indianapolis. I was asked how much salary I believed it would require to get him. I replied that \$18 a week might probably be sufficient. "Offer him \$12," was the order that was given to me. I replied that I did not believe the man would come for \$12 a week, as he had a wife and some children to support. Furthermore, I offered the suggestion that a man and his family could hardly live comfortably in — on \$12 a week. "His affairs are nothing to me," replied the Christian publisher who loved the "forgotten man," "if I can get him for \$12 a week, I will not pay more."

I declined to be instrumental in such a hold-up and refused to make the offer.

The same Christian gentleman robbed me of \$200 during the last four months I was on his paper—robbed me as plainly as if he had put a gun to my ear and taken the money from me. In fact, he did put a gun to my ear—the gun of my necessities. He saw an opportunity to jam me and he did it. His only mistake was in believing that I would be indefinitely at his mercy.

I could give other specific proof, from my own experience, of the fact that the capitalist newspapers that affect a love for labor are arrant frauds and hypocrites.

They all pretend to be the sworn allies of labor, merely because it is profitable to do so. A newspaper

telegram in the expiring hour removed the last wrinkle and left it a perfect fit.

Thomas W. Lawson, the Boston millionaire, charges that Senator Patrick McCarran, who brought out Judge Parker for the nomination in the pay roll of the Standard Oil Company as political master mechanic at twenty thousand dollars a year, and that Parker is the chosen tool of Standard Oil. Mr. Lawson offers Senator McCarran one hundred thousand dollars if he will disprove the charge.

William Jennings Bryan denounced Judge Parker as a tool of Wall street before he was nominated, and after his nomination he charged that it had been dictated by the trusts and secured by "crooked and indefensible methods." Mr. Bryan also said that labor had been betrayed in the convention and need look for nothing from the Democratic party.

He made many other damaging charges against his party and its candidates, but when the supreme test came he was not equal to it, and instead of denouncing the betrayers of the "common people" and repudiating their made-to-order Wall street program, he compromised with the pirates that scuttled his ship and promised with his lips the support his heart refused and his conscience condemned.

The Democratic nominee for president was one of the supreme judges of the State of New York who declared the eight-hour law unconstitutional, and this is an index of his political character.

In his address accepting the nomination he makes but a single allusion to labor and in this he takes occasion to say that labor is charged with having recently used dynamite in destroying property and that the perpetrators should be subjected to the most rigorous punishment known to the law. This

in advance of trial and indicates clearly the trend of his capitalistically trained judicial mind. He made no such reference to capital, nor to those eminent rascals who use judicial dynamite in blowing up the constitution while labor is looted and starved by capitalist freebooters who trample all law in the mire and leer and mock at their despoiled and helpless victims.

It is hardly necessary to make more than passing reference to Henry G. Davis, Democratic candidate for Vice President. He is a coal baron, railroad owner and, of course, an enemy to union labor. He has amassed a great fortune exploiting his wage-slaves and has always strenuously resisted every attempt to organize them for the betterment of their condition. Mr. Davis is a staunch believer in the virtue of the injunction as applied to union labor. As a young man he was in charge of a slave plantation.

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS.

The Socialist party is not, and does not pretend to be, a capitalist party. It does not ask, nor does it expect the votes of the capitalist class. Such capitalists as do support it do so, seeing the approaching doom of the capitalist system and with a full understanding that the Socialist party is not a capitalist party, nor a middle class party, but a revolutionary working class party, whose historic mission it is to conquer capitalism on the political battle-field, take control of government and through the public powers, take possession of the means of wealth production, abolish wage-slavery and emancipate all workers and all humanity.

The people are as capable of achieving their industrial freedom as they were to secure their political liberty, and both are necessary to a free nation.

The capitalist system is so long

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adapted to the needs of modern society. Centralization and combination are the modern forces in industrial and commercial life. Competition is breaking down and co-operation is supplanting it. The hand tools of early times are used no more. Mammoth machines have taken their places. A few thousand capitalists own them and many millions of workmen use them. All the wealth the vast army of labor produces above its subsistence is taken by the machine owning capitalists, who also own the land and the mills, the factories, railroads and mines, the forests and fields and all other means of production and transportation. Hence wealth and poverty, millionaires and beggars, castles and caves, luxury and squalor, painted parasites on the boulevard and jaded poverty among the red lights. Hence strikes, boycotts, riots, murder, suicide, insanity, prostitution on a fearful and increasing scale. The capitalist parties can do nothing. They are a part, an iniquitous part, of the foul and decaying system. There is no remedy for the ravages of death. Capitalism is dying and its extremities are already decomposing. The blotches upon the surface show that the blood no longer circulates. The time is near when the cadaver will have to be removed and the atmosphere purified.

CLOSING WORDS.
These are stirring days for living men. The day of crisis is drawing near and Socialists are exerting all their power to prepare the people for it. The old order of society can survive but little longer. Socialism is next in order. The swelling minority sounds warning of the impending change. Soon that minority will be the majority and then will come the co-operative commonwealth. Every workman should rally to the standard of his class and hasten the full-orbed day of freedom. Every progressive Democrat must find his way in our direction and if he will but free himself from prejudice and study the principles of Socialism he will soon be a sturdy supporter of our party. Every sympathizer with labor, every friend of justice, every lover of humanity should support the Socialist party.

This speech of Comrade Debr was issued in a 32 page booklet by the National Headquarters and will be sent prepaid to any address as follows:

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Members of the Machinist Lodge No. 301 please take notice that according to decision of this organization all members are obliged to take part in the parade on Labor Day, September 5. No one will be excused unless he has a proper excuse. For further particulars see other part of this paper.

O. Bochart, Secy.

Keweenaw County Nominations.

For Assembly, Chas. Waegle, Keweenaw; Sheriff, Jos. Novotney, Keweenaw; County Clerk, Frank Cmejla, Pierce; Register of Deeds, S. A. Langer, Keweenaw; Treasurer, Chas. Cmejla, Algoma; Coroner, Frank Helebrant, Algoma; Surveyor, John Maddeo, Algoma; Clerk of Court, Venzel Wimer, Algoma.

At the Marinette convention we named our ticket as follows: Sheriff—John Hoffman. County Clerk—Julius Behrendt. County Treasurer—Carl F. E. Petersen.

Reg. of Deeds—James Petersen. Clerk at Court—Paul Buchman. Coroner—Joseph Ruml. Member of the Assembly—James Larsen. As delegate to the Congressional convention James Larsen was elected, and as delegate to the State convention Carl F. E. Petersen was elected.

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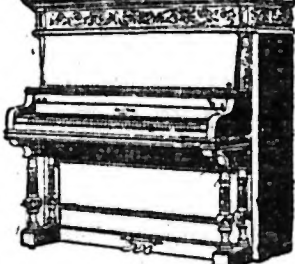
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